

631 to which some men definitely belonged and others definitely did
646 not. When matters of national importance needed decision, they
were discussed at a meeting attended by at least all the lieutenants
of the various beviés of the Paramount Chief, and all the spokesmen
mentioned in accounts of meetings with Europeans during the later
period and who can now be identified belong to this category. It
seems possible that the heads of other major segments also took
part in these discussions, and that other men listened to them even
if they did not take part.

643 The role played in tribal affairs by brothers and junior sons of
627 the Paramount Chief is not clear. The Paramount Chief did not
644 himself actively intervene in many domestic matters until they were
specifically referred to him by his lieutenants, and it seems possible
that within their own segments other members of the royal house
behaved in the same manner. At least nowadays some aristocratic
headmen, not necessarily members of the royal family, behave in
this aloof way. The head of the segment, like the head of the
[622] village, represents its common interest, its unity, and cannot inter-
[624] vene on his own initiative in the affairs of his people. He lies beyond
the reach of their quarrels and disputes, and has to be brought into
or informed of them in his judicial capacity by his lieutenants.
Wiese says that previously members of the royal house were the
real governors and judges in their segments, but that by 1891 in
three cases out of four effective power had passed to their lieutenants
and that they were merely 'show chiefs'.²² This observation appears
to confirm the thesis that with increased segmentation effective
control passed from the head of the primal segment to the heads of
the inferior segments within it, leaving the head of the primal
segment as ceremonial head; but we do not know what evidence if
any Wiese had about earlier conditions. It seems probable that
before Wiese's time, as well as during it, the heads of large segments
ruled through, as well as with the approval of, their lieutenants.
So strongly does this principle still apply to the office of Paramount
Chief that when recently a brawl began at a beer party attended
by the Chief, he at once ran away, lest in the mêlée he might be
[579] forced to take direct action.²³

621 Thus we see that in the Ngoni residential system, although
631 segments were enduring social groups and the pattern of relation-
ships once laid down could not be altered in formal terms, yet in
fact there was a continual movement in the disposition of political

²² Wiese, 'Expedição', p. 470.

²³ Gluckman reports similar conditions among the Lozi, where there is a
maxim, 'The chief is not a policeman'. See his 'Lozi of North-Western Rhodesia'.

243 forest is cut down and burnt, and another garden cultivated, and
 213 so the country is rapidly being deforested. The crop is largely
 used to make a heady beer, and although Central Africa has been
 happily saved from the curse of European liquor, the native beer
 is a great source of big drunken bouts. Heavy drinking, how-
 ever, does not bring the evil effects that brandy drunkenness
 would entail. The drink is a nutritious and a very sustaining
 food, I know some of the old chiefs who are drunk almost every
 day of their lives by midday, yet they bear up wonderfully. But

• [517] these drunken bouts, when whole villages run riot, are the source
 of nearly all quarrels, adultery, bloodshed, and every outburst
 of passion. We have had to denounce the beer drinking as a menace
 [177] to the social order of the country, and for lack of the strong
 restraint of the British Government, which forbids the cutting
 down of trees, we have preached against the deforesting of the land
 as a wicked improvidence. The native church has, of its own
 initiative, taken up the question, and enjoined on the members
 total abstinence, and the preservation of the forests.

461 Three or four months labour are sufficient to provide a family
 with food for the year, and the sale of a sheep or a heifer will buy
 all the clothes the family requires. There is therefore little neces-
 sity to work, and the tendency is to spend the months lounging
 about the village, talking and trifling. Now, happily a more
 197 industrious period is waking, and larger ambitions for cloth and
 461 for stock, are drawing out the men to work. As a mission we
 797 insist on the duty of labour, we refuse church privileges to a man
 if he cannot show that he has been engaged for some months
 each year at some labour centre doing honest work. No moral
 good is ever effected by pampering African pride and indolence,
 and one of the first lessons Christianity has to teach the native, is
 the dignity of labour, and the absolute necessity for the labourer
 to be industrious and honest in the discharge of his work. A
 penny a day is the ordinary wage we give a labourer, and even
 the great majority of my 220 teachers do not receive more than
 1/6 a month.

171 Of course many of the Central Africans have industries of their
 own, smelting, basket making, cloth weaving, wire pulling, and
 so on. But the Ngoni were a handless people until they got a
 spear in their hand. Then they drew themselves up as men, and
 defied the universe. Yet this martial life had an ennobling effect
 on them. It is a curious thing to notice, and a fact which was